

Message Text

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73/43

ACTION SS-25

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O 211630Z MAR 75 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1376
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1080

EXDIS
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR PGH TWO)
DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PINT CY TU US GK
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS IN CYPRUS; THE VIEW FROM NICOSIA

REF: A. ANKARA 2207 B. ATHENS 2200 C. STATE 064005

1. SUMMARY: WE DO NOT SEE HOW MAKARIOS CAN BE DEALT OUT OF CYPRUS NEGOTIALSON AT THIS TIME. WE CONCUR THAT A THREE-TIER NEGOTIATION (CLERIDES-DENKTASH, GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND SECRETARY'S CONTINUED SECRET PERSONAL CONTACT WITH PARTIES) OFFERS BEST CHANCE OF PROGRESS. THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A LOT OF HELPFUL SHOVING AS TURKISH CYPRIOTS, AT LEAST, ARE QUITE HAPPY TO PROCRASTINATE WHILE THEY CONSOLIDATE THEIR HOLDINGS, ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION. END SUMMARY.

2. WITH REGARD TO "THE THORNY PROBLEM OF MAKARIOS" (PARA 1, REF A), PRESUMABLY THE TURKISH LEADERS ARE SUGGESTING THAT A CYPRUS SOLUTION WOULD BE CLOSER WERE THE ARCHBISHOP REMOVED FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE. THIS IS A POINT OFTEN REPEATED BY TURK SIDE HERE. ON MANY OCCASIONS AMBASSADOR INHAN HAS INSISTED THAT NO SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE SO LONG AS MAKARIOS REMAINS THE POLITICAL LEADER OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY, A POSITION HE ENJOYS AS ETHNARCH AND AS PRESIDENT. DENKTASH'S INSISTENCE ON A "SECULAR STATE" ALSO ADDRESSES THIS ISSUE.

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3. FROM THE NICOSIA VANTAGE POINT, TURKISH INSISTENCE ON MAKARIOS' REMOVAL IS SELF-DEFEATING ON TWO BASIC POINTS:

A. IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER ANY OTHER GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER CAN DELIVER AN AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO TURKEY. NO ONE -- AND PARTICULARLY CLERIDES -- ENJOYS THE BROAD MASS SUPPORT ACCORDED THE ARCHBISHOP. THIS SUPPORT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR ANY LEADER TO SELL A POLITICAL AGREEMENT TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, PARTICULARLY ONE WHICH WILL BE INEVITABLY UNPOPULAR.

B. MAKARIOS, OUT OF PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE AND OPPOSING THE TERMS OF A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT, COULD BE A HIGHLY DISRUPTIVE FORCE. (HE WOULD REMAIN ETHNARCH.) WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT MAKARIOS, IN OR OUT OF THE PRESIDENCY, COULD BE BROUGHT ALONG, OR "HANDLED", IN THE EVENT OF GOG-GOT AGREEMENT ON A SOLUTION WHICH HE CONSIDERED UNACCEPTABLE, BUT HE IS LESS LIKELY TO BE OBSTRUCTIVE IF HE HAS BEEN KEPT ENGAGED FROM THE START, WHICH IS GOG'S APPARENT STRATEGY.

4. WE THEREFORE CONCLUDE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONVINCE THE GOT THAT, AS MUCH AS TURKEY MAY HAVE GOOD REASON TO DISLIKE AND DISTRUST MAKARIOS, THERE ARE POSITIVE ELEMENTS TO HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. ALSO, THE TURKS SHOULD REALIZE THAT HIS EXCLUSION FROM THE INTRICACIES OF NEA58-589, 8 04-:5-ICALLY IMPOSSIBLE AT THIS TIME. THE BEST WAY TO KEEP MAKARIOS IN STEP IS BY OUR MAINTAINING CIVIL, INFORMATIVE CONTACT HERE AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, THROUGH KARAMANLIS'S INFLUENCE.

5. WE CONCUR WITH BOTH ATHENS (PARA 8, REF B) AND ANKARA (PARA 6 AND 7, REF A) THAT SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY APPEARS TO BE PREMATURE SO LONG AS THE PARTIES REMAIN SO SEPARATED ON BASIC ISSUES, ALTHOUGH IT COULD BECOME ESSENTIAL LATER.

6. IT IS APPARENT FROM NICOSIA POINT OF VIEW THAT REACTIVATING LUNS IS A NON-STARTER. HIS STATEMENTS OVER THE YEARS HAVE MADE HIM ANATHEMA TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP. ADDITIONALLY, DIRECT NATO INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE LEFT, WHICH REMAINS STRONG HERE, WOULD REJECT ANY OUTCOME. CYPRIOT COMMUNISTS HAVE CONVINCED THEMSELVES (AND
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A LARGE SEGMENT OF LOCAL OPINION SHARES THE VIEW) THAT NATO IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SITUATION CURRENTLY OBTAINING ON THE ISLAND. THESE GROUPS WILL AUTOMATICALLY REJECT ANY DIRECT ROLE FOR THE ORGANIZATION'S SECRETARY GENERAL. WE DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT LUNS COULD ATTEMPT AT A LATER TIME TO HELP NARROW THE GAP BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, PERHAPS IN BRUSSELS. BUT -- AGAIN FROM THE NICOSIA PERSPECTIVE -- THIS SHOULD BE DONE QUIETLY AND WITHOUT ANY PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF

"REACTIVATING" HIM.

7. WE AGREE COMPLETELY THAT USG SHOULD PRESS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE CLERIDES/DENKTASH NEGOTIATIONS. WE SHOULD ARGUE THAT PURSUANT SC RES 367 BOTH SDIES SHOULD RESUME THESE TALKS AND CAN DO SO ON THE BASIS OF POSITION DOCUMENT ALREADY TABLED. USG INFLUENCE WILL HAVE TO BE APPLIED IN ANKARA, SINCE DENKTASH SEEMS TO BE IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A WALL BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE NEGOTIATIONS. IF THESE ARE REDUCED TO A CELIK/PAPA-DOPOULOS DIALOUGE, NEGOTIATIONS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE UN-PRODUCTIVE. AGAIN, MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE OF GOG AND GOT, PARTICULARLY LATTER. ON THE GREEK SIDE, PRESSURE SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS CONTINUING THE TALKS IN NICOSIA AFTER AN OPENING SOMEWHERE ELSE, SINCE THEIR REMOVAL FROM CYPRUS WOULD

PROBABLY PRECLUDE DENKTASH'S REGULAR INVOLVEMENT. DENKTASH IS FOR THE MOMENT THE FTSC'S KEY MAN. WITHOUT HIS PRESENCE ON THE ISLAND, THE TURK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE BADLY HANDICAPPED.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO SECRETARY.

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8. WHILE VIEWING CLERIDES-DENKTASH FORUM, IF REOPENED, AS BEST MECHANISM FOR INVOLVING CYPRIOTS IN QUEST FOR SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM WHICH IS ONLY PARTIALLY THEIR OWN, WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS FORUM TO PRODUCE A SOLUTION TO BASIC ISSUES, ABSENT AN UMBRELLA

ACCORD BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. FOR THIS REASON, WE AGREE THAT DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS (OR MINISTRIES), AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME, IS ESSENTIAL IN NARROWING THE GAP ON BASIC ISSUES WHICH SEPARATE THE PARTIES. IDEALLY, WE WOULD HOPE FOR A GREEK-TURKISH DIALOGUE, EMBRACING CYPRUS AND OTHER CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, WHICH WILL SUPPLEMENT AND DIRECT THE COURSE OF TALKS BETWEEN LEADERSHIP OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS. THIRD SUPPORTING TIER SHOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO BE CLOSE SECRET COMMUNICATION BY THE SECRETARY WITH GOG AND GOT LEADERSHIP SUPPLEMENTED BY EXCHANGES WITH MAKARIOS AND CLERDIES WHENEVER LATTER SEEM CALLED FOR.

9. FINALLY, NOTHING WE SEE OR HEAR INDICATES THAT THE TURK CYPRIOTS (AND THEIR MAINLAND COLLEAGUES ON THE ISLAND) HAVE INTEREST IN NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT WHICH PRODUCES LESS THAN THEIR MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES. THE TURK SIDE HERE WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, BE QUITE CONTENT TO HAVE TALKS ABOUT BEGINNING TALKS DRAG ON INDEFINITELY. THEY HAVE LITTLE TO LOSE ON THE ISLAND ITSELF BY PROLONGATION OF THE PRESENT STALEMATE. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY ARE GAINING TIME TO REORGANIZE THEIR SOCIETY, INTEGRATE TURK
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CYPRIOTS FROM THE SOUTH, ABSORB GREEK CYPRIOT ECONOMIC ASSETS INTO THE NEW ECONOMY, AND GENERALLY HARDEN THEIR POSITION. THEREFORE, MUCH AS THE GOG AND EVEN EVENTUALLY MAKARIOS MAY WANT TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, WE QUESTION WHETHER TURKISH CYPRIOTS ARE INTERESTED SHORT OF COMPLETE CAPITULATION BY THE GREEKS. A FIRM DECISION BY A STRONG GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA WOULD, OF COURSE, CHANGE THIS.
CRAWFORD

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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